TURNING THE TIDE

ANTI-RACISM NEWSLETTER

Vol. 6, #1 - January-February 1993 - $1 at newsstands

People Against Racist Terror/P.O. Box 1990/Burbank 91507

CELEBRATE SOLIDARITY!

Rally Against the Klan, Bigotry & Racist Violence

Simi Valley Courthouse

Saturday, Jan. 30, 10 - 4:00

The Ku Klux Klan has announced plans to rally in Simi Valley on January 30 in support of the police officers who beat Rodney King, whose trial on federal civil rights charges begins on Feb. 2 in Los Angeles. John Varela, 60, head of the Bakersfield, CA KKK, says his group will also be protesting the trial in L.A. on Feb. 3.

In a pre-emptive move, Neighbors Against Nazis, the Simi Valley based coalition of groups and individuals which has successfully two previous racist mobilizations in Simi by white supremacist Richard Barrett, has reserved the Simi courthouse for rally to celebrate solidarity and protest the Klan, bigotry, police brutality and racist violence. PART is involved in building the rally and in countering the Klan demonstration in L.A. as well. The Simi Valley rally will feature speakers, music, food and entertainment. If the Klan indeed shows up in their robes and hoods, as Varela claims, they will find themselves distinctly unwelcome.

Planning meetings are scheduled in L.A. and Ventura during January. Call the anti-klan hotline (310) 288 - 5003 for more information.

ELECTION 1992

The political landscape has been substantially reshaped by the 1992 national elections. Although it was a positive development that the electorate overwhelmingly repudiated the politics of hate and fear that dominated the Republican Party and the Bush campaign, the forces of the Christian Right arrayed behind Pat Robertson and Pat Buchanan made major strides in their take-over of the Republican Party on a national and many state and local levels (see story on the Oregon OCA elsewhere in this issue). The third party racist and right-wing candidacies of "Bo" Gritz and Lyndon LaRouche were marginalized, essentially overwhelmed by the unprecedented showing of the independent candidate Ross Perot, who took almost 20% of the vote, coming in second in several states. The largest vote total after Clinton, Bush and Perot was amassed by Andre Marrou of the Libertarians, the only other candidate on the ballot in all 50 states. His nearly 300,000 votes exceeded the combined total for all the other minor party candidates put together, including Gritz, LaRouche and Howard Phillips on the right, as well as Lenora Fulani of the cultish New Alliance Party and the independent rainbow candidacy of Ron Daniels.

People have many expectations that the Clinton-Gore ticket in office will provide new opportunities and hope. While it will certainly differ to an extent from its predecessor, in that Clinton-Gore can be expected to give the kind of access to liberals that Bush-Quayle gave to arch-conservatives and the right, do not be surprised by the extent of the continuities that persist in the post-Reagan/Bush era. Just as Reagan differed little in fact from the de-regulatory, military, monetary and anti-Soviet policies of the final Carter years, so too in the post-Cold War period, Clinton's perspective on and defense of U.S. imperial interests may not be all that much different from Bush's. Big business belatedly sees the importance of "conversion" of the mega-death military industries into domestic enterprise, but this is not likely to mean the democratization and demilitarization of the economy that peace activists struggled for over the past decades. Instead, we are likely to see a step-up in the forces of domestic repression in the police and border patrol.

The choice of Warren Christopher to head Clinton's transition team, and as Secretary of State in the new cabinet, should be clear evidence. Here in L.A., many people became familiar with Christopher as the head of the Mayor Bradley/Chief Gates-appointed commission which managed to defuse and drain community outrage over the beating of Rodney King into a campaign for the adoption of a few insignificant reforms. It was that dispersal and depowerment of community mobilizing against police brutality and injustice which, as much as the acquittal of the cops who beat King, led to the outburst of anger in the L.A. uprising of April/May 1992.

There is less awareness of Christopher's long and sordid history of suppressing the Black freedom struggle. He began his "public service" by serving as the co-chair of the Commission led by CIA chief John McCone which "investigated" the Watts Rebellion, and parlayed his expertise on counter-insurgency into appointments in the Johnson administration where he supervised federal efforts to put down the Black rebellions in Chicago and Detroit, at one point coordinating the use of the U.S. Army with local police forces. A corporate lawyer, he has headed the union-busting firm of O'Melveny & Meyers, one of the principal cogs in the power elite that runs L.A. and produced the tinder-box of racism and deprivation that were the long-term causes of the rebellion here. Christopher represents the old carrot-and-stick approach to maintaining corporate domination and exploitation. His is the advice Clinton heeded in pledging to increase the number of cops on the beat nationwide.

Clinton's relative openness to liberal voices, however, guarantees that the racist, anti-gay and anti-woman right will be stepping up its vitriol in the coming years. (See story on abortion elsewhere in this issue). The abuse heaped on a Black woman on the Clinton transition team, Johnnetta Cole, president of Spellman College, is indicative. A clamor that began with arch-conservatives about Cole's ties to the Venceremos Brigade and her support of the Grenadian revolution of Maurice Bishop, was quickly taken up by the establishment media, including the NY Times. Cole then withdrew herself from consideration for an appointment to the Clinton administration itself.

During the election campaign, racist/right forces were split. David Duke was neutralized in the Republican primaries by Pat Buchanan.

Green Beret "Bo" Gritz drew about 100,000 votes nation-wide with his America First/Populist Party campaign, which was only on the ballot in 19 states. (Neo-nazi Lyndon LaRouche, campaigning from prison, drew only about a quarter of that though he was on more state ballots). Gritz's erstwhile supporters from the Liberty Lobby/Populist Action Committee run by the Spotlight's Willis Carto backed Ross Perot. Carto is urging his followers as well as backers of Gritz and Duke to get involved in "United We Stand America," the citizen's lobby and potential third party Perot has built out of his campaign. (Some progressives might be well advised to pursue the same strategy, both to learn what's up in the Perot camp, and because a large sector of the middle class, and not only whites, will be grappling with some of the issues facing the country in that grouping.)

During the campaign, Perot was forced to purge his operation of a number of racists, particularly in Arkansas, where backers of Klan leader Thom Robb and Duke associate Ralph Forbes infiltrated the Perot organization. (Forbes drew about 6,000 votes in his independent race for Congress, while the Republicans won a court order removing Robb's name from their ballot line.) It's not clear to what extent Perot, who once claimed the Black Panthers sent a hit team after him, will allow his post-electoral lobby to be infiltrated or exploited by open racists or anti-semites.

Gritz got his largest returns in three states -- Louisiana, home of David Duke; Utah, where a large faction of racist extremists has recently been expelled from the Mormon Church, and where many nazi skins have been relocating, staging an "Aryan takeover" of Zion National Park; and Idaho, where Gritz capitalized on his role as "negotiator" in the stand-off between white supremacist Randy Weaver and the feds. In his native Nevada, Gritz did quite poorly, and he has announced plans to move to Idaho himself and run for governor in 1994. The Center for Democratic Renewal reports tensions between Gritz and the Populists' national office, possibly leading to another split.

Here in California, Gritz failed to get on the ballot after the American Independent Party, which usually backs the Populists, gave their line to right-winger Howard Phillips instead. (Gritz mounted a write-in campaign whose results were minimal). Phillips got about 40,000 votes nationally, 11,000 in CA. Populist Party leader Joe Fields, with a long history of nazi activity in the Harbor area of L.A., ran on the American Independent ticket for a State Assembly seat from Long Beach/San Pedro held by a conservative Republican incumbent. He drew about 5,000 votes, presumably mainly from the local Croatian community with which he claims affiliation. Interestingly, the seat was won by the Democratic challenger, Betty Karnette, a former LA teachers' union official (though her margin of victory was greater than the votes siphoned off by Fields).

During the election, two of Fields' supporters visited the home of Michael Novick, editor of TTT, (nowhere near Fields' district) and PART subsequently began receiving harassing calls claiming that "white nationalists" would be coming to or meeting at his home. On election eve, Fields himself with a group of his Populist hooligans, was picketing a pro-choice rally at the Westwood Federal Building sponsored by Democratic senatorial candidates Boxer and Feinstein. Fields and his followers held up signs proclaiming "Abortion Kills Children" and "Abortion is Murder." When they came around to the main entrance to the rally, apparently to see if it might be possible to stage and attention grabbing disruption or confrontation with the women candidates, Fields spotted Novick, who was distributing leaflets spelling out the ties of the racist right to the anti-abortion movement. He let Novick know that the Populists knew his home address. Alerted to Fields' identity, rally organizers prevented the Populists from entering or disrupting the rally, and they quickly left.

Such tactics provide further evidence that the electoral and other public organizing by the racist right is part and parcel of its attempt to use intimidation and terror to shape the world according to its sick world view.

CANADA

British holocaust-denier David Irving spent the end of October and the first two weeks of November spreading lies and making headlines as he toured Canada after a visit to the U.S. What made this different from past tours is that Irving entered Canada illegally, and spent much of his time fighting deportation. He managed to stay 16 days before being deported.

Thanks to a warrant for his arrest issued in Germany (for having claimed Hitler never ordered the final solution, and that the gas chambers at Auschwitz were built after the war as a tourist attraction), Irving was informed in mid-October that he was barred from Canada. He snuck into the country, and was arrested by the Mounties after addressing the so-called "Canadian Free Speech League" in British Columbia on Oct. 28 His lawyer, Doug Christie, head of the CFSL, freed him on 10/30 with orders to leave the country within 48 hours. On the 31st, he flew to Toronto, where he addressed several hundred sympathizers; security was provided by nazi skinheads. Irving was re-arrested for disobeying the order to leave. This time Christie claimed he had complied by going for a 20-minute drive in Washington State on 10/30.

While a judge gave Irving time to find witnesses to support this claim, he continued his tour after Louis Martens, accompanied by Ernst Zundel, posted bail. Zundel is a German born apologist for the nazis who came to Canada in 1958 and is a major source of holocaust denial material world-wide; the author of such books as The Hitler We Loved, and Did Six Million Really Die? He has links with Toronto area nazi-skins, the CFSL, and the U.S.-based Institute for Historical Review. Like Irving, he has been arrested in Germany on charges of slandering the memory of the dead, and like Irving, he has been a client of Doug Christie's. Christie likes to portray himself as a defender of free speech, but the more obvious thread linking his clients could be fascism. He also has defended two Canadian high school teachers, Malcolm Ross and Jim Keegstra, who reportedly taught that the Holocaust never happened. Christie represented Manitoba Klansmen charged with weapons violations, advocating genocide, and telephone tampering. Other clients have included Aryan Nations adviser John Ross Taylor, grandfather of the Canadian racist right, and nazi-skinhead Mark Kreuzer of Calgary.

While out on bail, Irving spoke at the Latvian Hall in Toronto and at European Sound Imports in Kitchener, a stereo-shop owned by Michael Rothe, a German born neo-nazi who's rumored to have financed Irving's entire trip. The store has been the target of protest vigils; Rothe has been charged with allegedly punching Jewish anti-racist organizer Monna Zentner, 55; Harold Eidt, associated with the store has been chanrged with making death threats against protesters. After Irving spoke at the store on Nov. 6, a house Zentner owned and was renovating was torched.

Finally, on Nov. 13, Irving was deported, the adjudicator ruling that his alleged trip to Washington never took place. He won't be able to return to Canada without express permission by the Federal immigration Minister. This may also result in his being barred from other Commonwealth countries. He will probably continue promoting his version of history. The London Sunday Times agreed earlier this year to pay him £75,000 to translate the diaries of Josef Goebbels, the nazi propaganda chief.

COLOMBIA

COLOMBIA: Entre polvora y sangre

Actuelmente existen 28 organizaciones de paramilitares, con alrededor de siete mil hombres armados, que operan en forma aislada en 16 departamentos de Colombia.

There currently exist 28 para-military organizations, with around 7,000 armed men, in 16 departments of Colombia.

Estas redes tienen un poser local en las zonas de su influencia y son financiadas por narcotraficantes, ganaderos, latifundistas, comerciantes, industriales, esmeralderos, e inclusive, extranjeros. En muchas regiones de Colombia, patrullan conjuntamente con el Ejercito, a pesar de que fueron declaradas ilegales.

These networks have local power in the zones of their influence. They are financed by drug-dealers, ranchers, big land-owners and industrialists, including foreigners. In many regions, theypatrol jointly with the Army, even though they have been declared illegal.

El gobierno ha sido debil en su accion contra los paramilitares, y la mayoria de las bajas recientes se deben los enfrentamientos internos de estas bandas, o a la accion de la guerrilla, que ha sido fuerte especialmente en unas regiones.

The government has been weak in its actions against the para-military groups, and most of their recent losses are due to internal confrontations between the gangs or the actions of the revolutionary guerrilla movement, which has been strong in a few regions.

En Bogota, las elecciones para alcalde estuvieron llenas de candidatos vinculados de alguna manera al fascismo: Carlos Lucio, vocero de las "autodefensas" ante el gobierno; Juan Diego Jaramillo, politico conservador de extrema derecha; y Jaime castro, padrino politico del paramilitar ajusticiado Pablo Guarin, quien fue el ganador. Como si fuera poco, otro candidato se reclamo publicamente como neo-nazi.

In Bogota, the mayoral election was full of candidates associated with fascism; the spokesman for the so-called "self-defense groups" against the government, a conservative politician of the extreme right, and the political godfather of one of the para-military outfits, who won. On top of which, another candidate openly declared himself a neo-nazi.

El gobierno pretende ahora constituir Consejos Regionales de Seguridad para coordinar la participacion civil en la guerra antisubversiva. Tambien se esta reglametando un nuevo Estatuto de Seguridad, que limita la libertad de movimiento, viola la derecha de reunion y manifestacion, permite detener arbitrariamente a "sospechosos," etc. Todos los instrumentos necessarios para continuar la guerra sucia.

The government is constituting "Regional Security Councils" to coordinate civil participation in the coiunter-insurgency war (against the left). Its also adopting a new security statute which limits freedom of movement, violates the right to meet and demonstrate, permits the arbitrary detention of "suspects," etc. These are all the tools necessary to continue the "dirty war" (similar to Argentina, where the army is used internally against insurgents and dissidents). The minister of defense invited private parties to arm themselves against "delinquents," and Pres. Cesar Gaviria Trujillo reaffirmed that it's necessary to have armed unity between the authorities and the private sector with the same goal. (Excerpts and translation of materials from Colombia by PART).

Dear friends at PART:

Thanx for publishing our stuff last issue and for the newsletters. Good to see some articles in non-English languages. As you know, language barriers are first, then racial. So now I send you some stuff in Spanish; you can publish it in Spanish or English. Some of this is about fascist activities of Colombian death squads. Sometimes I think the U.S. media, alternative or mainstream, don't pay too much attention to Colombia, but there's a great and growing number of Colombians there.

Protest to survive -- Resistencia Redskin

David Moreno, AA 56385

Bogota 2 DC Colombia

An Environmental, Political, and Social Solutions Handbook with Directories

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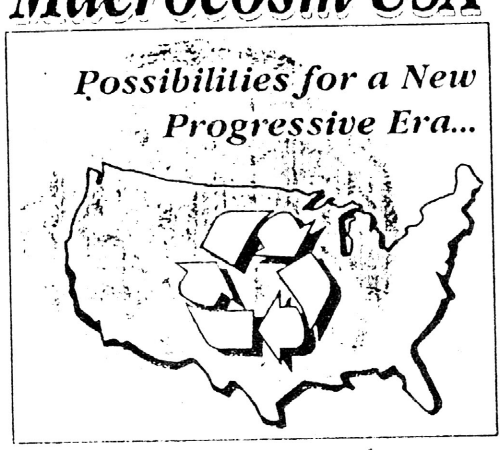

Edited by Sandi Brockway

Foreword by Marilyn Ferguson author of *The Aquarian Conspiracy*

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GERMANY

Since the night of Aug. 24, it has become obvious: In Germany, people can be hunted down before the eyes of the public, attacks can take place on their safety or their lives, and the German public is still searching for an understanding of the behavior patterns of the perpetrators.

We should remind ourselves of the events in Hoyeswerda, in Saxony, in Sept. 1991. Neo-fascists were able to attack the local refugee shelter for several weeks, to the loud applause of the local population. District President Schmitz expressed understanding for the attackers. The refugees, who were "too loud, too dirty and too lazy" according to him, were the culprits. Afterward, one could hear loud indignation at the pogrom atmosphere from many, who thought the mob had gone a little too far, and that such inhumane actions could disturb Germany's image abroad. But only a few were willing to give concrete support to the refugees, to struggle for their humane treatment and living conditons, or for their right to stay in Germany, live where the chose, or particularly for their safety. The few anti-racist and refugee support groups ran into a stone-wall, even from the humanitarian groups, when it came to the concrete political demands of the refugees.

The federal government's asylum debate has managed to dominate public opinion. Since Hoyeswerda, the government has been putting all its energy into abolition of Section 16 of the constitution, which guarantees the granting of asylum to refugees in Germany. Scarcely a week went by when the refugees weren't publicly denounced by governing politicians -- for example, when the politicians complained about the terrible conditions in the mass camps where the refugees have to live (as if these were the fault of the refugees) when the camps are a creation of the federal government. All these public statements had the same tendency: the refugees have to go.

So the subsequent events in Rostock were neither unexpected nor accidental. They are the result of this government policy, which ideologically promotes racism. The explanation/excuse pattern since Hoyeswerda -- that the people in the former East Germany are suffering, their situation has worsened drastically since reunification -- may be true, but they do not justify racist acts. The situation of people in the ex-GDR wouldn't change if there weren't a single refugee in this country, because refugees aren't the cause of those conditions.

The rising neo-fascist movement and its activists offered active support with their racist terror for the official government policy. For example, in Nov. 1991, more than 1,200 neo-fascists were allowed to gather undisturbed in a war cemetery in Halbe, a city south of Berlin, in order to celebrate the Waffen-SS in fascist tradition. In Aug. 1992, more than 2,000 neo-nazis were able to attend a demonstration and rally in Rudolstadt, Thueringen, to celebrate the birthday of WWII nazi Rudolf Hess, even though the police had stated beforehand that they wanted to prevent the neo-nazis from attending.

From the beginning, the anti-fascist demonstration in Rostock on Aug. 29, was faced with an incredible denunciation campaign. The media's language in reports on fascist attacks repeatedly put right-wing and left-wing activities on the same footing. Thereby, politicians and the media tried on the one hand to make the fascist terror, which proved that human lives have no value, look harmless. At the same time, such statements tried to devalue resistance to the fascist policies and terror. The media did not report one word about the anti-fascist political intent of the of the counter-demonstration, and instead reduced it to a gathering of a "violent leftist mob." The police, the politicians, and the media all propogated in undisturbed harmony that on Aug. 29, a "big battle" would take place.

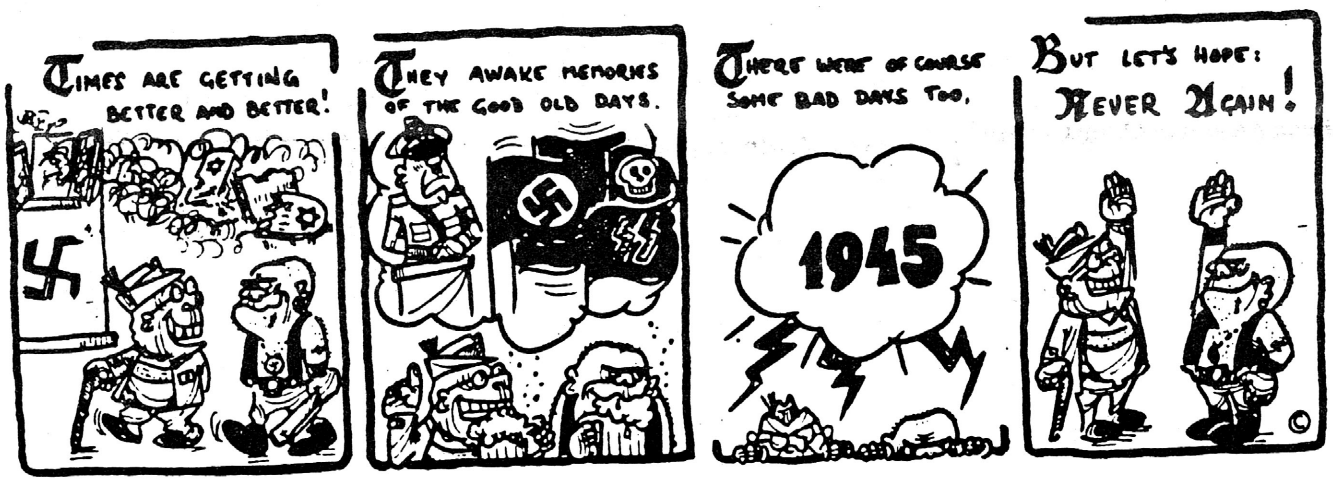
What hadn't been possible during the whole week of fascist terror attacks, was suddenly possible in dealing with the anti-fascist demonstration. Not only were police and border guards from all over Germany called in to Rostock. Those 4,000 police also became active: For example, more than 5,000 anti-facsists from other cities, who wanted to participate in the counter-demonstration, were held up for up to 7 hours on the highways (whereas the nazis had been passing through freely).

After a seven hour delay, the demonstration, organized by anti-fascist and autonomous groups and endorsed by various trade unions, immigrant groups, the Greens and the PDS (Social Democratic -- opposition -- Party), was able to start despite police intimidation and obstruction. More than 20,000 people, among them international delegations and a bloc of refugees and immigrants, weren't intimidated by the state forces. We didn't engage in the riot strategy of the police or give them the images they had hoped for to be able to legitimize a strong state, more "security laws," etc.

Given the inhumane events in Rostock, it was only a small victory. We were much too few who took to the streets, who said a clear "NO!" to racism, who tried to stop the fascist organizing, who named those who are politically responsible for the pogroms. But hopefully, our demonstration encouraged all those who had been intimidated by the denunciation campaign, not to bend their back and not to succumb to the brown-shirt propaganda.

Meanwhile, the right wing terror against the refugees continues. Every day we hear and read about the attacks, about attempted and accomplished murders.

We have to organize self-protection with the refugees, and to resist any form of racism. Never again Fascism!



HAWAII

1893 ARMY OF HAWAII, 1st Co. Sharpshooters. These and 16 other gangs of armed haole businessmen patrolled the streets of Honolulu on Jan. 17 intimidating Native Hawaiians some of whom were killed. They were backed by armed marines from a U.S. battleship in Honolulu Harbor. Purpose of this illegal armed overthrow of our government was to seize Pearl Harbor for U.S. corporate/military aggression in the Pacific and put this gang of thieves in power of the local government.

JANUARY 17, 1993 marks the 100th anniversary of the 1893-1898 U.S. invasion and theft of our Hawaiian Nation. The event calls for baring the truth of these crimes, righting the wrongs, relieving the plight of the victims and creating a new and better Hawai'i for all.

The truth of these events has been intentionally suppressed and distorted by the American system — governments, schools and media. The facts have been uncovered by us Kanaka Maoli (indigenous Hawaiians) only since the onset of our eruptive land struggles in the 1970's.

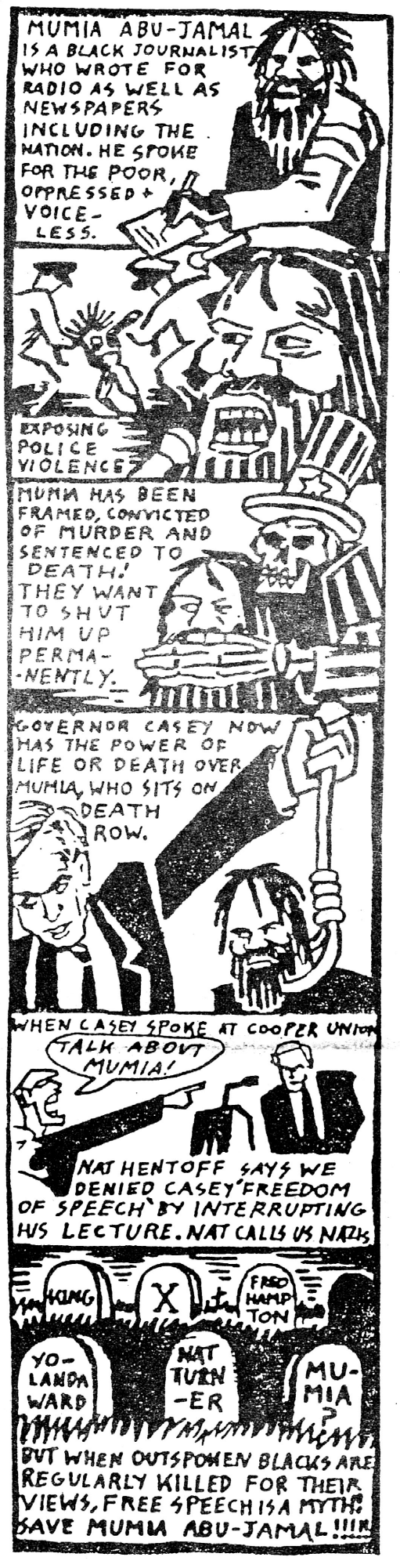
We Kanaka Maoli lived in this mid-Oceanic *pae'aina* (archipelago) since time immemorial, farming the 'aina (land), fishing the kai (sea) and sharing the bounties of our nature gods with others in the pursuit of pono (harmony).

Imperialist foreigners came with guns and fatal diseases. They brutally exploited our people and lands. They first attacked then privatized and commercialized our land, labor, resources and culture. They imposed economic dependence and imported indentured immigrant plantation laborers to reap huge financial profits for themselves at workers' expense.

The January 1893 crisis was termed *"an act of war"* by U.S. President Grover Cleveland after the Yankee armed invasion and robbery of our independent nation under President Benjamin Harrison.

August 1898 brought the U.S.'s illegal and forced annexation of Hawai'i. To expansionist President McKinley, however, it was *"no new scheme, no change...a consummation after three-quarters of a century."*

MUMIA



Seth Tobocman

SUNDIATA

Sundiata Acoli, ex-Black Panther, is coming up for parole in early 1993, after 20 long hard years of imprisonment. Because of his outstanding achievements, the New Jersey Dept. of Corrections recently restored all of the "good time" they had taken from him in the early '70's. This made him immediately eligible for parole. Yet the Parole Board plans to give him a ten-year "hit," meaning, make him do ten more years in prison.

In 1973, Sundiata and Assata Shakur were captured after a shoot-out on the New Jersey Turnpike in which their companion Zayd Shakur and a state trooper, Werner Foerster, were killed. Following a highly publicized trial, Sundiata was convicted and sentenced to life at Trenton State Prison. There he was confined for 5 years in a control unit isolation cell which was smaller than the SPCA's requirement for a 90-lb. dog.

He was secretly transfered over 1,000 miles to the infamous federal prison at Marion, although he had no federal charges or convictions. An entrance physical showed that he had been heavily exposed to tuberculosis while at Trenton. Nonetheless, for the next eight years he was confined 23 hours a day in an isolation cell. Finally in 1987, Sundiata was transfered to general population at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary, Kansas.

Sundiata has had only one minor disciplinary infraction in the last 10 years. He has earned straight A's in college work and received diplomas in desk-top computers and Paralegal Real Estate Law. He has also gotten good work reports on prison cell-block janitor job. While in prison, he has also written a number of articles, which have been collected in book form and are available from his supporters, the Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign.

If the Parole Board succeeds in extending his sentence despite these outstanding accomplishments, it will be a virtual death sentence for Sundiata, already 56 years old and infected with TB.

We are asking that you write the Parole Board today and demand that Sundiata be released at the parole hearing; get your friends to write too. Send your letters, mailgrams, petitions, etc. to:

New Jersey State Parole Board

CN-862

Trenton NJ 08625

Tel.: (609) 292-4257.

Please send a copy to the Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign, P.O. Box 5538, Harlem NY 10027; tel. (203) 966-9048., so that his attorney, Jill Soffiyah Elijah can verify to the Parole Board that they were sent.

ACOLI

"G"

PART joined in a successful march and rally in December on behalf of geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), the former leader of the Black Panther Party in L.A. who has been falsely imprisoned on a COINTELPRO frame-up for more than two decades. Prior to the events in south central L.A., which featured hip hop artist Tupac Shakur (2pacolypse Now), a prayer vigil was held outside the prison at Tehachapi where geronimo is incarcerated. Members of his family participated along with dozens of other speakers and entertainers in the L.A. rally.

It's not too late to write to the parole board demanding that geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) be released. For more information, write to or call:

International Campaign to Free geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)
PO Box 781328
Los Angeles CA
90016
213-758-6888

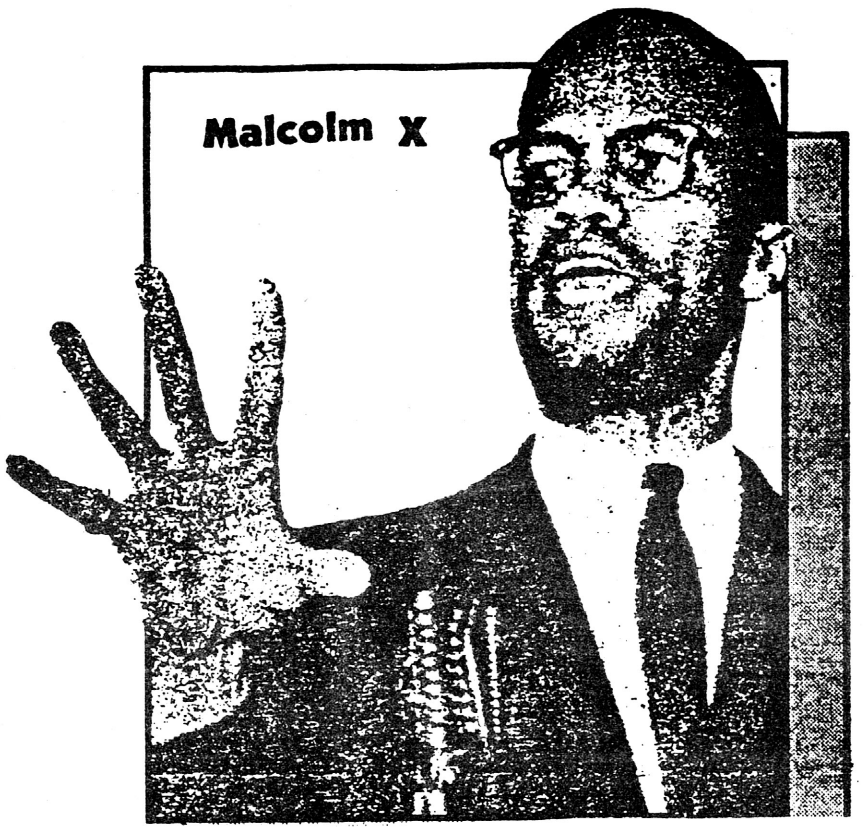
UP COMING ISSUES:

The next issue of Turning the Tide, Vol. 6 #2, March-April 1993, will focus on the theme of environmental racism and environmental justice. We are planning to cover such issues as "toxic racism," the siting of dumps and waste facilities in Native, Black and Latino areas; the impact of imperialism on the global eco-system; environmental activism in communities of color; the so-called wise-use, right wing "environmental" movement; environmental appeals by anti-immigrant and white supremacist groups; and vigilante violence against environmentalists, such as the attack on Judi Bari of Earth First! We are seeking articles on these themes from our readers, as well as information on groups that could serve as resources on these issues. The deadline for submissions is February 22. We are also considering accepting ads for this issue, because we want to print a larger press run to have available for Earth Day activities. And of course donations are always welcome.

For the May-June 1993 issue, Vol. 6 #3, we want to include materials on the queer movement, gay and lesbian bashing, AIDS activism and related issues. We look forward to submissions on those themes.

We think this issue reflects an increasing involvement by and dialogue with the readers of TTT, and we want to enhance that as much as possible so that the paper can serve as a forum for anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-fascist activists. We are always open to your contributions and suggestions, written, graphic or otherwise. We're also gratified by the response to our appeal in the last couple of issues for subscribers, and we hope to continue to merit your interest and trust. Thanks for your support!

MALCOLM



The film based on the "Autobiography of Malcolm X," made by Spike Lee has come in for plenty of criticism for fictionalizing Malcolm's life and diluting his message. Yet compared to most of what Hollywood turns out, it's worth seeing. Whatever its flaws, it will lead many people who might not otherwise have done so, to read and listen to Malcolm X/El Hajj Malik el Shabazz for themselves, and this is to the good. It matters less what Spike Lee thinks of Malcolm, or what people think of Spike Lee's interpretation, than that people will be drawn by the film to examine the thinking and practice of this great revolutionary.

Hollywood, and the mass media of entertainment and information in general, generally serve the interests of the powers that be, especially as a means of turning ideas and struggles into styles and commodities. The general approach that consumer capitalism takes to revolutionary ideology and practices which threaten it is to treat them as a kind of infection, and to try and inoculate the oppressed against them by vaccinating them with a watered-down, killed virus version, hoping this will fill people's minds and immunize them to the real thing and prevent us from facing the reality of our condition or thinking critically about how to change it.

This was done with socialism; in the 60's with the Black liberation struggle and other liberation movements, with feminism, environmentalism, gay liberation. We can see today Native American spirituality and sovereignty struggles being fetishized and packaged for sale by New Age gurus to people sickened by commercial materialism. But Malcolm X's message and example of thinking for yourself, bowing to no dogma, standing on principle, his fierce denunciation of racism and imperialism, his implacable commitment to the liberation of his people and all oppressed people, resist the effort to reduce him to simply a marketable icon. Malcolm still speaks to us today. He will not be silenced by commoditization any more than he was by death.

It is particularly ironic that the savants and critics are trying to pluck from Malcolm's life only the element of redemption from a life of criminality and self-destructive viciousness. Today in Los Angeles, masses of Black youth stigmatized as gang-bangers, making similar efforts to redeem themselves and their community from the effects of oppression and internalized hatred, are being greeted either with "benign neglect" by the economic and political elite, increased repression by the police unhappy with the truce, or attempts by the entertainment industry to coopt and exploit their expressions and energy. It remains to be seen whether this redemptive revolutionary potential will be crushed, wasted or realized. To the extent that all of us can take the example and uncompromising approach of Malcolm to heart, we will get that much nearer to liberation.

Lynching in Mississippi

New Afrikan Youth Found Hanging in County Jail

On August 23rd, 1992, 18 year old Andre Jones, son of Jackson, MS NAACP President Esther Jones Quinn and Charles X. Quinn, Minister in charge of the Jackson Nation of Islam Mosque, was found hanging in a shower inside a cell with eight or nine other prisoners in Simpson County, Mississippi.

Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan gave the eulogy for the slain youth. A team of attorneys, led by NAPO Chairman Chokwe Lumumba, are representing the family in a wrongful death suit against the jail and county.

On August 23rd around 1:00 am, Andre and his girlfriend Tonesha Love were stopped at a police road block in Rankin County, MS. Tonesha had been handcuffed, then released and left in the street to walk home without any assistance in the middle of the night. Andre was arrested on misdemeanor charges and suspicion of altering a vehicle identification number. At the time of the arrest, Andre was a high school registered to attend Alcorn University in Claiborn County, MS. He had no criminal record and no history of psychological problems or suicidal inclinations. None of the charges against Andre carried a threat of prison time.

Andre was initially arrested by the Brandon Police Department, but transferred from Ranking County Jail to Simpson County Jail without benefit of an opportunity to post a bail bond. He arrived at about 4:00 am on August 23rd and was given no opportunity to post bail. At 11:00 pm the jail reports that he was found hanging in a shower inside the cell. According to jail officials, no one heard anything and there is no explanation for Andre's death. Simpson County officials immediately declared that the death was a suicide, and the State pathologist supported this claim shortly thereafter. Nation of Islam officials hired an independent pathologist from Chicago, Dr. James Bryant, who stated emphatically after an initial examination of Andre's body that Andre Jones had been murdered, plain and simple.

Simpson County's Sheriff is Lloyd Jones, nicknamed "Goon" by local residents due to his terrorism of New Afrikans. "Goon" Jones led the shooting of Jackson State University students in a 1970 campus protest which resulted in the death of two students, and later, he reportedly participated in the brutal beating of a local minister.

The New Afrikan People's Organization, along with the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, the Jackson Human Rights Coalition and the Citywide Coalition for a Progressive Jackson, have joined with the Nation of Islam and others in forming the Mississippi Coalition for Justice. Former State Senator and next Mayor of Jackson Henry Kirksey has stated that he is in support of the family's demands for a thorough investigation of the case and justice for Andre Jones. We at BAMN! will keep you posted of any further developments in this case.

X

UFAF

Cross Border Civil Rights Gathering Declares Pacific Northwest a "Nazi-Free Zone"

Four years ago, South Whidbey State Park on Whidbey Island in Washington was host to a neo-Nazi gathering that memorialized Robert Matthews, a white supremacist killed by federal agents in 1984. Matthews planned and executed the assassination of Jewish talk show host Alan Berg.

But this year, placards dotting the park on Saturday, December 5 jubilantly proclaimed it a "Nazi-Free Zone," as 450 demonstrators of every color gathered to "bury Robert Matthews and everything he stood for," in the words of organizer Guerry Hoddersen, a founder of the Seattle-based United Front Against Fascism (UFAF).

UFAF was launched in 1988 to protest the first Nazi commemoration of Matthews' slaying. That year and in following years, UFAF rallied outside the park gates while national far-right figures such as Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations flew in to address small gatherings of Nazi sympathizers.

This time, UFAF went on the offensive, reserving the park a year ahead of time and organizing across the region for a "Northwest Solidarity Rally Against Nazis, Bigotry and Racist Violence." The event attracted contingents from Washington, Oregon and British Columbia and won more than 120 endorsements.

Ann Rogers, a Chippewa UFAF activist, called the rally a "complete success." Richard Butler stayed at home on his fortress-like Idaho compound and not one Nazi skinhead showed up to counter-picket.

Banding together against a common enemy

The rally kicked off amid towering pines at 1:30 p.m. — an hour and a half later than scheduled because of a rightwing bomb threat called in to the state ferry system, the source of transportation to the island. As a campfire burned in the foreground and members of Hotel Employees Restaurant Employees Local 8 ladled out hot food and coffee in the back, musicians and about 25 impassioned speakers took the stage in a race against sunset.

ANTI-RACIST VIOLENCE:

Dear PART:

Racist, neo-fascist or state inspired attacks against progressive groups and movements are a fact of political life. Studies show the complex inter-relationship between state agencies of repression like the FBI, local police "red squads," and right wing political groups. The murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in 1969, the killings in Greensboro of anti-klan activists in 1979 and the attempted assassination in Oakland of Earth First-IWWW organizers Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney in 1990 are only a few examples. Against this backdrop, I'd like to offer some comments to PART's continuing dialogue on use of violence by contemporary insurgents against the new world order of racism, sexism and homophobia.

While the principle of self-defense is essential, we must be aware of the many methods used to by the state to discredit our movements and portray us as violent, thus isolating us from sectors of the population we need to mobilize. I recommend Ross Gelbspan's "Breakins, Death Threats, and the FBI", Brian Glick's "The War at Home" and "Agents of Repression" by Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall as required reading for direct action activists on the left.

The Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) is a direct action clinic defense and radical reproductive rights organization. Since 1988, we have virtually put Operation Rescue (OR) out of operation in the San Francisco area. Our success can be traced to grass roots organizing and mass mobilizing to keep clinics open, and our use of creative tactics for physical clinic defense -- our willingness to actively break OR blockades and remove OR activists ourselves. We organize independently of the courts, cops and politicians. We will physically prevent OR from blockading women's clinics; but we could never have achieved our goal if we had attacked individual OR activists. We have removed blockaders quickly, effectively and with little or no overt violence, in sharp contrast to the violence of individual OR's who have indiscriminately attacked clients, providers and defenders, and the state sanctioned violence of the police.

Many police openly or tacitly sympathize with OR. Here in "liberal" San Francisco, we learned in 1989 that the police chaplain was a member of OR who addressed their "prayer rallies" on numerous occasions. The slow pace of police action to clear blockades, and one incident where, after BACORR had successfully outflanked OR and opened a clinic, the police after negotiating with OR, shut the clinic down with the Tac Squad and mounted cops, convinced us that numerous deals have been struck between OR and the police. Our experiences over the past year in Buffalo, Baton Rouge and Louisiana underscores the violent nature of OR and the fanatical "Lambs of Christ." We witnessed the support for OR from klansmen and nazis during their failed campaigns in NY and Louisiana. The media campaign to portray us as violent outsiders, however, was a failure because we were successful in shifting the debate to the violence of OR. Overt violence on our part would have blurred the issue of a woman's right to control her own body, and given the media and the cops the pretext to attack us.

For anti-racist activists, the meaning of these examples is that to prevent neo-nazis from organizing, we must not only confront the racists, but make a sustained effort to mobilize our communities so that the fascists and hate-mongers won't dare show their heads. If they do, they must be made to understand they'll face a determined community. Having said that, it's necessary to re-state the critical importance of self-defense. While we do not advocate offensive violence against OR, we do defend ourselves if attacked. The vast majority of working people understand and support self-defense; offensive violence is counter-productive to buiilding a mass movement (because it lets the violence of OR or the nazis off the hook) and is politically inept.

We are not only skirmishing with our far-right adversaries, we are contesting the terrain of the capitalist state. We shouldn't play into our enemies' hands or open ourselves to victimization by the state. We must be brutally honest. The current relationship of forces in the US precludes at present any possibility of success in launching a revolutionary war against capitalism. Small armed bands of revolutionaries, regardless of their commitment, cannot overthrow the state. Progressive change, not to mention a revolutionary transformation of society, will only be possible by creating viable militant mass organizations of the oppressed, achieved through education, organization and mobilization of the working class itself. The united front is still the best way to mobilize our communities for an effective fight back.

In solidarity,

Tom Burghardt, BACORR

Dear PART:

I've been pleased to see a discussion starting in your paper around such issues as anti-racist struggle and militancy. I'd like to follow up. My main point is that racism has to be fought on all levels and with all means. More specifically, we need to confront the far right on two levels: ideologically, and on the street-level.

Ideologically, we need to understand, and help others, particularly the white working clas, understand such things as the relative privilege of white workers, not only compared to black/minority workers here, but on a global level as well. We need to understand our privileged position in the context of the north-south struggle (I'm writing this as a white person, so I guess my "we's" refer to whites). We also need to grasp how far-right groups operate and how they're able to gain acceptance within the white working class.

But a militant anti-racist movement needs to operate on a street level as well. And that means, atacking nazis. Not just the individuals, but their structures as well: political party offices, clubs that cater to racist bands, etc. Nazi culture spreads because we allow it to exist. NAzis gain a youth following because they operate at the street level; in a gang-like manner, they offer their members solidarity and a means of taking direct action. All too often, people shrink back in fear of them, and the nazis go unopposed; this gives the members a greater sense of power. What we need to do is confront them whenever possible; to make them feel powerless while we become empowered. In short, we need to expose them for the scum they are, and practically hinder their efforts at political organization.

In any case, keep up the good work!

In struggle, Jan Kraker

Autonome Forum/AYF
PO Box 1242
Burlington VT 05402-1242

Dear PART:

PART has generally taken a position against violent confrontations with nazis. I'd like to offer a few examples from the anti-racist struggle in Minneapolis-St. Paul to show where a balanced approached has had some success. One area where violence has achieved positive results is in combatting boneheads in the "youth culture scene." In the mid-'80's in Mpls., there was a nazi-skin gang called the White Knights. They hung out, organized and carried out acts of racist terror in "Uptown," an area popular with young people as a gathering place. Nazis also had a few bands and could go to concerts and other places young people frequented.

Anti-Racist Action (ARA) organized a front of anti-racist skins and other activists who successfully drove visible nazis out of Minneapolis through militant activism and violent confrontation. Nazi organizing has ended and nazis are rarely ever seen at concerts or in youth hangouts. This creates an atmosphere free from bonehead organizing or acts of terror against minorities. It also put the nazis on the run,

A DIALOGUE

enabling ARA to branch out into areas such as organizing in East St. Paul (a nazi stronghold) and on the university campus. Recent activism has concentrated on those areas.

ARA has also organized a large demonstration in St. Paul where there has been a strict policy of not using violence against nazis. This creates an atmosphere where people can peacefully protest in an open democratic way. It also guards against vanguardist attempts to disrupt a march where there is no consensus to use force. However, in some instances, violence is necessary for self-defense and to expel nazis from an area where they are organizing.

For example, on Oct. 17, the nazis planned to hold a rally on the university campus. A counter-protest was quickly organized which drew a very diverse crowd of over 100 to the area. Most were young anti-racist skins, punks, gang members, American Indian Movement members, students and queers. About 15 nazis cricled in cars and were driven from the area. Their rally was thwarted and campus and the area around it, also popular hang-outs with young people, were declared a nazi-free zone. The crowd was militant, not doiminated by any organization (including ARA) and ready to use violence to protect themselves and their space from nazis.

Some local radical and progressive groups indeed condemned and distanced themselves from this spon - taneous protest. I think some PART members, like them, may be under-estimating the importance of making the youth culture scene nazi free. Confronting and driving nazis out of schools, hang-outs, concerts and parties creates a safe atmosphere where nazis cannot organize, intimidate or commit acts of terror. This is an area where I think violence is justified and necessary. Thanks for your good work and the chance to air this opinion. These are my views only, not necessarily those of ARA or the Anarchist Youth Federation.

Felix Havoc,

Mpls. AYF

Increase the Peace

PART Replies:

We're glad to see this continuing dialogue on issues raised in the Sept. issue of TTT, and sorry it's taken us so long to print these responses. We have a few additional comments and clarifications to make. In our initial remarks, we were talking about the inadvisibility of using offensive violence against neo-nazis in the context of a peaceful rally. At the same time we reported favorably on the Minneapolis ewxperience and noted that self-defense may sometimes include pre-empting nazis on the street from further carrying out a campaign of violence and intimidation. We feel that physical attacks on nazis at peaceful rallies allows them to portray themselves as victims and is self-defeating in terms of feeding the media/police tendency to portray the anti-klan movement as the problem and the source of violence. This was clear from the Simi Valley experience, where the police went to great lengths to provoke arrests and violence, which the media were then happy to use, blocking the political message of the anti-klan forces and giving a clear field to the nazis to drape themselves in the flag and patriotism.

There is a tactical and political distinction to be made between confronting nazis and klansmen, who often boast of their proclivities to violence and are clearly perceived by many as using terror and intimidation to pursue their aims, and dealing with OR, which lays claim to high-minded morality and likes to portray itself as engaged in non-violent disobedience. The care which must be taken in dealing with them, and educating and exposing about their racist and violent involvements, is substantially greater than our concerns about how to deal with the nazis and the klan.

Even in dealing with nazis, however, it is important not to fall into the error of a strategy which is essentially based on "might makes right," because this is a fascist formulation. Particularly as the forces of racism and reaction are often substantially stronger than our own, the issue is how to turn the rightness of our cause into sufficient might to defend ourselves and prevail. Our unity, principles and morality are essential strengths that we cannot abandon. "Treat others as you would be treated" is a virtually universally recognized moral code that is consistent with our demands for justice and fairness. It doesn't require us to love our enemy, and it does not preclude us from resorting to violence where necessary and appropriate.

PART is not pacifist, and neither are most working people. Freedom and justice are worth fighting for. But we do believe it's necessary to think long and hard about what and how we are fighting. The understanding that "two wrongs don't make a right," is morally superior to the dog-eat-dog, tit-for-tat, eye-for-eye code of the schoolyard bully, the capitalist and the klansman. We need to be individuallly and collectively aware of and responsible for the consequences of our actions, whether they are sexual, environmental or political. Revenge is not a healthy motive for unleashing violence, which is hard to contain once engaged in. Oppression doesn't create saints. The Israelis, in their brutal expropriation of and crimes against the Palestinians; and the Serbs, in attacking their Croat and Muslim Slav neighbors, demonstrate quite clearly that even the victims of genocide and fascism are quite capable of becoming victimizers themselves. So we must wage a struggle for empowerment and for the displacement of the exploiters in such a way that we preserve and enhance the humanity of the oppressed.

We recognize the message of Malcolm X -- by any means necessary -- but that does not, to us, mean that the end justifies the means. It means that the oppressed cannot tie one hand behind our backs, and cannot categorically abandon any means of struggle appropriate to the struggle for liberation. Malcolm turned away from dehumanizing his adversary because he saw that anyone can be redeemed by social practice and abandonment of racism. We must recognize that Klansmen, too, have and will continue to see the error of their ways, and also that we can turn ourselves into our opposites if we do not choose our weapons and means of struggle with great care.

DEAR PART:

Dear friends at PART:

We received some very bad news recently that a friend of the AYF in Birmingham AL named Jason (a punk rocker who was visiting from Cincinnatti) was murdered by racist skinheads from the Aryan National Front. Apparently, Jason and a friend were walking on the south side of Birmingham when they were attacked by five boneheads. The situation escalated, and Jason's body was found riddled with 22 bullets. His friend has not yet been found and we fear for the worst.

The AYF there has received several death threats since the incident, and some folks have left the city for their own safety. The police have one bonehead in custody. We mourn the loss of Jason. I'll send more information as we get it. It's estimated the Aryan National Front has 60 members, who are extremely well-armed. The AYF in Birmingham is appealing for help from anyone in the area, and can be reached c/o AAN, Suite 147, 3325 Lorna Rd. #2, P.O. Box 360999, Birmingham AL 35236.

In brighter news, anarchist and progressive skinheads in NY, Minneapolis, Chicago, Cincinnatti and a number of other cities have begun networking to build a skinhead movement that is not just against racism, but for revolutionary class struggle, against sexism, homophobia, etc. Many of us feel that the status quo "American Pride Without Prejudice" belief of many skinheads is no solution to the problems of the system, and that if we want to out-organize the nazis in the skin community, we must offer real solutions to the problems we face as working-class youth. One of the appeals of the nazis is that they offer "solutions" to kids for the problems they face (such as why they are unemployed, have no say in their own lives, etc.) We believe the nazi "solutions" are the wrong ones, and lead people astray. Instead, we are promoting a unified class struggle against capitalism, and believe that in order to unite the working class, w emust first combat white supremacy.

We, the MAYDAY crew, will be publishing a left wing skin'zine called RASH DECISIONS, and in the NY area we have several projects in the works such as monthly ska-unity dances, distribution of anti-racist skin records/'zines, benefit shirts and patches. I was happy to see in your most recent issue you printed something from the redskins in South America. Is it possible you could tell us where that piece came from, and how to get in touch with the authors? It would be extremely useful in our networking.

DAN, c/o NYAYF

PO Box 365, Canal St. Sta.

NY, NY 10013-0365

PART replies:

Sorry it wasn't clear enough from our lay-out of the letters last issue, but the Redskins piece was from D. Moreno in Bogota. There's another piece in this issue with their address again.

Congratulations on the networking and extensive array of activities. Hope the contact list in this issue is helpful.

ALL OUT TO SIMI

Anti-Fascist History - Part One

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade

"Long Live the Heroes of the International Brigades!"*

By Steve Orel

Today's anti-KKK/Nazi movement can benefit from learning about the history of the anti-fascist movement in this country. Sometimes, we tend to date the anti-Klan struggle as a trend which grew out of the heroic civil rights battles of the 1950's and '60's. And that is definitely a part of our anti-fascist heritage. But, we are political descendants of emancipatory movements from as far back as recorded history such as Spartacus (73-71 BC) to the present. To go back just 57 odd years to 1936 takes us to a critical point in the international and US anti-fascist movement.

In 1931, King Franco's monarchy was toppled in Spain and a bourgeois democratic republic was established. The Spanish Republic was threatened with the advance of fascism through Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy and so on. Spain was a part of Hitler's design to conquer Europe so he armed Franco and the Spanish fascist Falange Party to wage a war of counter-revolution against the Republic. The Spanish people and the Loyalist Army valiantly defended the Republic.

Under the guise of "non-intervention" the US government refused repeated pleas for assistance to the Republic and blocked all efforts to send assistance to the Spanish people. Meanwhile, US companies such as Ford Motor Co. helped Hitler to turn Volkswagon autoplants into armored tank factories; General Motors and Studebaker sent Franco trucks; Texaco Oil gave credit to Franco's fascist army and supplied fuel for tanks and planes which were all used against the Republic. This was no match for the beleaguered Republican forces.

So, an international appeal was made to form an International Brigade to bolster the loyalist Republican Army in its fight against fascism. In response to this call more than 3,000 workers from the U.S. volunteered to fight in Spain.

Many of these volunteers were union activists in the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Working Class Union, Trade Union Educational League, some, among the actual founders of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) which formed in early 1936. The US volunteers brought with them to Spain their combined skills and experiences during sit-down strikes, plant occupations, battling scabs and thugs on the picket lines, and from confrontations with police during hunger marches, and unemployment relief demonstrations; not to mention the 1932 veteran's Bonus March which was attacked by US government troops in WDC in 1932. And, especially those from the South and Midwest brought their expertise gained in the heat of armed battles with the KKK. But above all, these volunteers brought a passion for freedom and self-determination. They understood the consequences of Spain falling under the fascist iron heel. So, they dropped whatever they were doing, linked up with the international underground railroad, hopped boats to Europe, climbed and trekked across the Pyrenees Mountains by nightfall and linked up with their anti-fascist comrades from around the world on Spanish soil. ***Never before had there assembled an international volunteer army of 40,000 anti-fascist troops!***

The Lincoln Brigaders forged a professional anti-fascist army which acquired military discipline and skills in the heat of the fiercest Spanish battles such as Jarama, Brunete, Aragon, Teruel, and Saragossa. They went toe-to-toe with the fascists. By late 1938, Hitler enabled Franco to launch a devastating Blitzkrieg against the Spanish Republic. Many Brigaders were captured, most wounded, and when the dust would settle, more than half of the US volunteers were killed in battle and their bodies were laid to rest in Spanish soil. Still the US, British and French governments would not lift a finger to save the Spanish Republic. In early October, the International Brigades began a withdrawal from Spain to salvage whatever forces were possible.

When the US volunteers returned home, they were hounded by the FBI and later the House Un-American Activities Committee. They were blacklisted and thrown out of work. The government unleashed its fury against the anti-fascists while it was doing nothing to stop Hitler until 1941. This is the real truth about the role of the US government, secretly propping up Hitler before the US entry into the Second World War.

The lessons of the International Brigades and of the V ALB should be studied for the purposes of establishing broad-based, united front, anti-fascist brigades today to handle the problems of the KKK/Nazi/Skinhead/vigilante police and other para-military fascists. We need brigades today, in the tradition of the V ALB to defend communities, organizations, families and individuals who have come under scrutiny and attacks by the fascists. We need brigades which will defend the homes, headquarters and rallies of anti-fascists. We need brigades which will insure that pro-humanity rallies and programs can take place without fascist disruptions. We need brigades which are trained to prevent the fascists from spreading their hatred and bigotry. We need brigades which on the one hand guard against adventurism, but more importantly, are prepared to defend the rights of men and women of all nationalities to work, live, and socialize together building unity, friendship and equality. These noble aspirations are under attack today. But there is little doubt that if we unite, the fascists can and will be defeated.

If you are interested in studying more about the history of the Spanish Civil War, the International Brigades or the V ALB, two sources are very helpful: (1) Southern California Library for Social Studies & Research, 6120 So. Vermont Avenue, LA, CA 90044, 213-759-6063; (2) V ALB, Room 227, 799 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

Fellow anti-racists,

Sorry it's taken so long to write back but we've been having a lot of problems, although things are slowly starting to turn in our favor.

We've been getting a lot of hate mail from the local nazis, the eastern hammer skins. We've had some setbacks in the last few months, but we've been slowly regrouping, reorganizing and building up in more members and supporters. I hope that other anti-racist groups have the patience that we have to keep up the fight. Fighting white supremacy doesn't mean that you'll beat them in a week, as we soon found out. We almost folded, but the problem wouldn't go away by itself. You have to keep the faith; lay low if you have to, but write to other groups, pass out literature, and build up membership and support. For encouragement, think of how great the anti-racist movement is, for instance when the Klan marches and the klan members are outnumbered 10-1 by anti-klan demonstrators. And when it comes down to it, you better be ready to fight.

Well, I hope I shed some light for anyone who needed the advice. Spirit of '69 -- Pride without Prejudice,

Chip, co-founder

Maryland SHARP

O.C.A. VICTORY IN OREGON?

Why the Oregon Citizen's Alliance Won

by Jason W. Moore and David Jarman

The most telling post-script to the 1992 elections in Oregon came in early November, when "moderate" leaders of the state Republican Party announced that the Oregon Citizens Alliance, sponsors of the anti-gay Ballot Measure 9, were about to seize control of the party. This development, which has been brewing for some years, underscores one of the few things that is certain about the recent elections in this state -- the OCA won.

In twenty of the 36 counties, the OCA's viciously homophobic Measure Nine -- which would have amended the constitution to describe homosexuality as "perverse, abnormal and unnatural" -- carried the day. Despite the measure's defeat state-wide, it can no longer be denied that the OCA has come from the political margins to center stage. Unless Oregon's progressive movement can radically rethink our approach to coun tering the OCA and the far-right, we can treat the passage of their next initiative as a foregone conclusion.

While the OCA's leaders have never won election, its program has won widespread support in three successive elections of at least 40% of the vote. As they move towards consolidating their hold on an electoral apparatus -- either the Republicans or a new party -- the OCA can be expected to expand its influence further. Born out of fundamentalist and anti-choice networks, beginning with Joe Lutz's challenge to Bob Packwood in 1986, it rapidly won support from the resource-dependent working class and their communities. Now, it's moving to translate grass roots support and social power into electoral success. Their plans hinge on an inside/outside strategy with the Republican Party -- challenging party regulars not to their liking in the primaries, and if their demands are not met, again as independents in the general election. Predicatably, the Republicans will move even further to the right. The OCA is in the vanguard of a Christian Right grab for power.

At stake in Oregon and across the country is more than legal protection for the rights of lesbians and gays. The OCA and their Christian Right brethren do not want just their views on homosexuality, or abortion, or some other single issue, enacted into law. They desire a massive reconstruction of society. As ultra-right fundraiser Paul Weyrich articulated in the '80's: "We are different from previous generations ... we are no longer working to preserve the status quo. We are radicals (sic) working to overturn the current power structure of the country." Weyrich, though not affiliated with the OCA, represents an ideological current probably dominant within it.

Posing as anti-establishment, the pseudo-populism of the Christian right sets its cross-hairs not on big business but on the remnants of the liberal welfare state and on weakened progressive movements seeking to preserve public education, job training and civil and reproductive rights. Playing on racist, sexist and homophobic fears serves as a wedge to capture significant support for a broader ultra-right program. It also serves to destabilize progressive movements by pushing them on to the defensive and dividing their base of support.

The Christian right's talk about fundamentally altering the power structure is only rhetoric, but it resonates with an increasing number of disaffected people eager for explanations of today's social and economic crises. Everyone from the rural poor, to the fall-out from the shrinking middle class, to the residents of decaying inner cities have been left without a role in the new suburban-oriented political era. The Christian right is betting that the urban poor will stay quiet, or at least unorganized enough so that upheavals can be dealt with through force, and that moderately paid workers can be frightened into seeking the protection of an authoritarian social and political order.

In Oregon's timber communities, the right sees the danger of allowing workers to think too much about the set-backs of recent decades. Their right wing populism is a means of preventing the working class from drfiting back to the populism of the left. Their job is made easier by the virtual absence of any left voices, and what's worse, by a wide-spread class chauvinism in left movements which sees residents of these communities as stupid, bigoted and somehow unreachable. But if history is any guide, the continuing economic crisis will unhinge the left's base among progressive elements in the middle class, which in times of economic and social crisis have turned right, and not left. Bereft of middle class support, the left must find ways of articulating a progressive, indeed radical agenda (since the times demand radical solutions with unprecedented urgency).

Such an agenda must speak to the everyday needs and worries of the working class. Only this approach will be able to compete with the OCA's message of fear, fear, FEAR! Only by winning working class support, and implementing a political, economic and social program based on the empowerment of workers, can the gains of the OCA and their allies be halted, and rolled back.

Jason W. Moore and David Jarman, co-editors of the Student Insurgent at the University of Oregon, serve as co-chairs of the Center for Contemporary Organizing, a youth-oriented research, education, and publishing center. The Center can be reached at 206 NW 7th, Corvallis OR 97330, tel: 503-346-3716. This piece has been edited and excerpted for length by TTT.

PART comments:

We have printed the gist of this piece in the interests of dialogue over directions for the progressive and anti-racist movement in the wake of the 1992 elections. To the extent which the piece focuses on the still growing strength of the right (as opposed to the alleged opportunities offered by the Clinton victory) we think it is an important contribution.

However, we are uncomfortable with the ill-defined "approach" that emphasizes the "everyday needs and worries of the working class." If history is any guide, that is a formula for abandoning the interests and needs of the oppressed. If the "working class" isn't worried about the right to an abortion, about the survival of the planet, about Native treaty rights, about fighting AIDS and breast cancer, about justice, then it needs to be. The role of the white left is in getting white working people to overcome the blinders of privilege to recognize and act on their own oppression. This is a much larger discussion which will hopefully continue in these pages in various forms, but we welcome further comments and dialogue.

Boycott

Colorado!

SUBSCRIBE

As you can see, TTT is bigger (and hopefully) better than ever. But we can't continue without your political, moral (and also financial) support.

Order the anti-racist resources available from PART. (see back cover). Become a member, supporter or sustainer by sending in your contribution. And use TTT as a vehicle for communication in the grass-roots anti-racist movement. Order a bundle and distribute them locally (10 copies for $5).

Become a PART correspondent, and send us your scene reports for TTT about racist and anti-racist activities in your area. We'll try to print as many as we can on regular basis, if we can sustain our new format.

Write to us at:

Turning the Tide/People Against Racist Terror, P. O. Box 1990, Burbank CA 91507.

RACISTS ATTACK ABORTION

Saturday, November 28, the Pregnancy Consultation Center in Sacramento CA was destroyed by an arsonist's firebomb. The clinic had often been the target of Operation Rescue type harassment, and was the scene last year of a "minuteman" hit by 20 thugs from OR. The day after the bombing, over 100 pro-choice activists gathered in a protest at Trinity Church in Sacramento, a fundamentalist outfit that has been used as a marshalling site by OR for its raids on clinics in the area.

As the result of a weapons arrest in Michigan, police confiscated five fully-automatic assault rifles, two Uzi's, live grenades and 57,000 rounds of ammunition along with Aryan Nations and KKK propaganda from white supremacist and convicted felon Terence Paul. As a result of that investigation, according to the Center for Democratic Renewal, agents from the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms questioned an associate of Paul's, Leland Smart, regarding a sho oting attack on the Grand Rapids (MI) Pl anned Parenthood Clinic, which had taken place on September 30.

In Redding, CA, where the Feminist Women's Health Clinc has been firebombed twice in the past few years, BACORR reports that John Bell, involved with OR and a local fundamentalist church, has set up "Rescue Missionaries to the Pre-Born." The president of the Shasta County Pro-Choice Coalition reports

In a Good Cause

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individuals described as "survivalists" regularly picket the FWHC. BACORR also reports increased use of racist and anti-semitic slurs by anti-choice forces trying to shut down clinics. OR has declared February "No Place to Hide" Month and is attempting to target the homes of providers and clinic defenders. According to the Orange County Pro-Choice Coalition, clinic defenders have been tracked to their homes by OR's involved in physician harassment in Orange County. It's believed OR may be getting access through a "mole" in the DMV or police.

These tactics should come as no surprise. PART's background research report "WOMEN'S RIGHTS: Target for Racist Terror" documents connections over the past decade between open racist groups, the so-called "pro-lifers" and repressive forces in the state, and their willingness to use or countenance violence to deny women their reproductive rights. The report is still available, updated to Oct. 1992, for $2.00 postpaid from PART. But especially in the post Reagan-Bush era, with the president, congress and even the courts paying lip service to the right to choose, the anti-woman, anti-gay and racist right can be expected to turn increasingly to violence to pursue its goals.

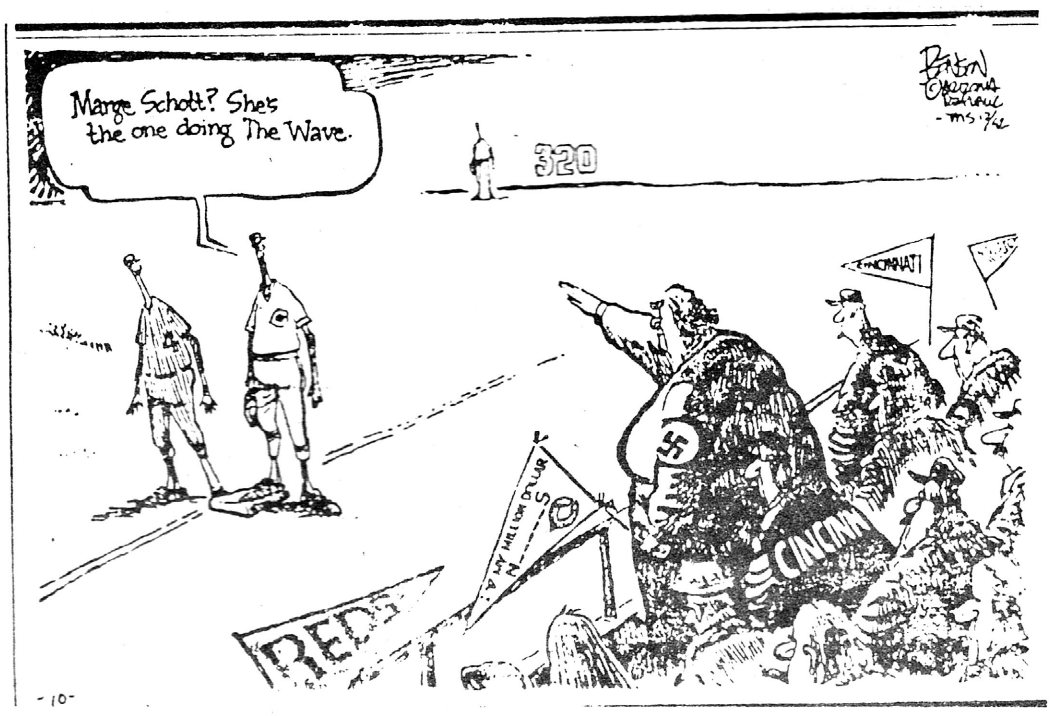
FBI, INS ATTACK ARABS

In a display of hypocrisy remarkable even for the Bush Administration, the U.S. government has criticized its client state, Israel, for its illegal expulsion of several hundred Palestinians through the Lebanese territory it occupies illegally.

What makes the U.S. condemnation blatantly dishonest is the fact that the U.S. is renewing its own illegal efforts to deport Palestinians from this country for exercising their first amendment rights to support the Palestinian cause.

Federal prosecutors have re-ignited the case of the L.A. Eight, persecution of U.S.-resident Palestinians initiated by the FBI and INS. As TTT went to press, hearings were being held in immigration court on a new U.S. effort two expel two of the Eight. Similar, less well publicized harassment and detention of Palestinian refugees has been taking place in Massachusetts and Texas.

For more information on the L.A. Eight, contact the Committee for Justice, P.O. Box 4631, L.A. CA 90051; tel.: 213-413-2935. If the U.S. can successfully carry out these deportations, it is a blow not only to the Palestinian cause but a threat to all refugees and immigrants who militate for their rights and their homelands.



ANTI-RACISM RESOURCES

Inst. for First Amendment Studies
PO Box 589
Great Barrington MA 01230
413-274-3786
Pub.: The Freedom Writer
eye on the fundamentalist right

New Liberation News Service
P.O. Box 325, Kendall Sq.Branch
Cambridge MA 02142
617-492-8316

Political Research Assoc.
678 Massachusetts #702
Cambridge MA 02139
Pub.: The Public Eye

Autonome Forum
PO Box 1242
Burlington VT 05402
Pub.: Arm the Spirit

Anti-Racism Group
Socialist Party USA
516 W. 25th St #404
NY NY 10001
Pub.: In Unity

Center for Immigrants Rights
48 St. Marks Pl.
NY NY 10003
212-505-6890

Comm. Against Anti-Asian Violence
191 E. Third St.
NY NY 10009
212-473-6485

NY Anarchist Youth Federation
PO Box 365 Canal St. Sta.
NY NY 10013

Campaign to Free Black Political Prisoners & POW's
P.O. Box 339
Bronx NY 10413

Educators Against Racism & Apartheid
16404 Goethals Ave.
Jamaica NY 11432

Coal. Against Apartheid & Racism
P.O. Box 3002
Albany NY 12202

Anti-Racist Action
P.O. Box 631
Red Lion PA 17356

Group Research Reports
733 15th St. NW #527
Washington DC 20005

U.S. Student Assoc.
1012 14th St. NW #202
Washington DC 20005

Riot GRRRL
PO Box 11002
Washington DC20008
Pub.: 'zine

National Gay & Lesbian Task Force
1517 "U" St. NW
Washington DC 20009

Student Coalition Against Apartheid & Racism
P.O. Box 18291
Washington DC 20036
202-483-4593
Pub.: SCAR News

People for the American Way
2000 "M" St. NW #400
Washington DC 20036
202-467-4999

Equal Justice USA
P.O. Box 5206
Hyattsville MD 20782

Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARP)
P.O. Box 1511
Pasadena MD 21122

Natl. Institute Against Prejudice & Violence
525 W. Redwood St.
Baltimore MD 21201
301-328-5170

North Carolinians Against Racial & Religious Violence
P.O. Box 240
Durham NC 27702

Organization to Stop Sexism & Racism
P.O. Box 471012
Charlotte NC 28247

Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR)
P.O. Box 50469
Atlanta GA 30302
404-221-0025
Pub.: The Monitor

Prairie Fire Org. Comm.
P.O. Box 18044
Atlanta GA 30316

Community Against Hate Crime
P.O. Box 14712
Gainesville FL 32604
Pub.: Iguana

Malcolm X Grassroots Mvmt.
New Afrikan Peoples Org.
PO Box 110637
Birmingham, AL 35211
205-941-1841
Pub.:By Any Means Necessary!

A.R.A./Eric R.
2134 Patton St.
Birmingham AL 35226

A.A.N.
3325 Lorna Rd. #2
P.O. Box 360999
Birmingham AL 35236

Klanwatch/
Southern Poverty Law Center
P.O. Box 548
Montgomery AL 36195
Pub.: SPLC Law Report

AYF Mid-South
P.O. Box 241532
Memphis TN 38124

Freedom Info. Service
P.O. Box 3568
Jackson MS 39207

Equal justice Comm.
PO Box 4079
Gary IN 46404

Justice Watch
932 Dayton St.
Cincinnati OH 45214

UCAR - Baker Mandela Ctr
3 E. Engineering Bldg
Ann Arbor MI 48109

Humans Unlearning Racist Together - HURT
PO Box 4752
Des Moines IA 50306
515-280-5035

Citizens United for Respect & Equality - CURE
PO Box 1400
Dubuque IA 52004
319-556-4000 ext 88

Midwest Network to Stop the Klan
Iowa City IA
319-338-8611

Midwest Treaty Network
731 State Street
Madison WI 53703

A.R.A.
P.O. Box 80634
Minneapolis MN 55408

A.Y.F.
P.O. Box 8585
Mpls. MN 55408

SHARP
15941 S. Harlem #210
Tinley Park IL 60477

Comm. to End the Marion Lockdown
PO Box 578172
Chicago IL 60657
312-235-0700

JBAKC Chi.
1340 W. Irving Park Rd #25
Chicago IL 60613

Puerto Rican Cultural Center
1671 N. Claremont
Chicago IL 60647
312-342-8027
Pub.: La Patria Radical

Wind Chill Factor
PO Box 81961
Chicago Il 60681
312-455-0707
pub.:WCF

Center for Democratic Renewal
P.O. Box 413767
K.C. MO 64141

Coalition Against Racism & Nazism
806 Perdido St. #205
New Orleans LA 70112

ARA
P.O. Box 17395
Dallas TX 75217

SHARP
P.O. Box 810745
Dallas TX 75381

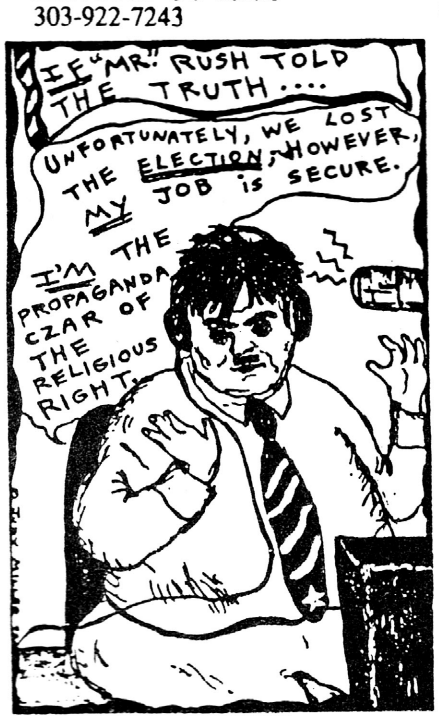
DSB
Non-Racist Skinheads
PO Box 847
Euless TX 76039

Mujer a Mujer/Woman to Woman
PO Box 12322
San Antonio TX 78212

Romani Union
c/o Ian Hancock
Manchaca TX 78652

A.R.A.
P.O. Box 402145
Austin TX 78704

National Committee Against English Only
98 Wadsworth Ave. #127-17
Lakewood CO 80226
303-922-7243



Saxifrage Group
P.O. Box 18717
Denver CO 80218

Religious Mvmt. Resource Ctr.
629 S. Howe St.
Ft. Collins CO 80521
303-482-8487

Front Range A.R.A.
P. O. Box 263
Colorado Springs CO 80901

SHARP
P.O. Box 11422
Pueblo CO 81001

Nuclear Resister
P.O. Box 43383
Tucson AZ 85733

AYF-L.A.
PO Box 26A86
L.A. CA 90026

PODER
1315 E. First St.
L.A. CA 90033
213-264-9333

Simon Wiesenthal Center
9760 West Pico Bl.
L.A. CA 90035
310-553-9035
pro-zionist, but lots of info on nazis, esp. in Europe

National Chicano Moratorium Committee/NCMC-L.A.
PO Box 63215
L.A. CA 90063
818-307-5143

Whole Damn Pie Shop
PO Box 7904
San Diego CA 92107

A.R.A.
P.O. Box 90312
S.D. CA 92109

JBAKC S.F.
220 9th St. #443
San Francisco CA 94103

Justice for Geronimo Cmpgn
214 Duboce Ave.
San Francisco CA 94103

Ctr. for 3rd World Org.
3861 M.L. King Jr. Way
Oakland CA 94609

Bay Area A.R.A.
P.O. Box 3501
Oakland CA 94609

SHARP
P.O. Box 681
Citrus Hts, CA 95611

Pro-Hawaiian Sovereignty Working Group
3333 Ka'ohinani Dr.
Honolulu HI 96817
808-595-6691

SHARP
1951 W. Burnside Bx 1517
Portland OR 97209

Coal. for Human Dignity
PO Box 40344
Portland OR 97240

ARA
P.O. Box 3405
Ashland OR 97520

Romani-Jewish Alliance
PO Box 325
Cashmere WA 98815
509-783-4710

United Front Against Fascism
5018 Rainier Ave S.
Seattle WA 98118

Incendiary Devices
PO Box 22774
Seattle WA 98122
Pub.:'zine

Sovereignty Network
HCO4 Box 9880
Palmer AK 99545
907-745-0505

INTERNATIONAL:

CANADA:

Arm the Spirit/
Wild Seeds Press
PO Box 57584 Jackson Sta.
Hamilton Ontario L8P 4X3

Prison News Service/
PSC Publishers
PO Box 5052 Station A
Toronto Ontario M5W 1W4

Anti-Racist Action
Po Box 664, Sta. C.
Toronto Ontario M6J 3S1

Canadian Centre Against Racism & prejudice
PO Box 505 Succ. des Jardins
Montreal Quebec H5B 1B6

Sindicat des Eleves
2035 Boul. St. Laurent
Montreal Quebec H2X 2T3

Ligue Antifasciste Mundial
C.P. 583 Succ. H.
Montreal Quebec H3G 2L5
Pub.: Rude Boy

GERMANY

Anti-faschistiches Info-Blatt
Gneisenaustrasse 2a
1000 Berlin 61

International Communication Proj.
c/o AStA Uni Hannover
Welfengarten 1
3000 Hannover 1

FRANCE:

Rude Boy/Octobre
Boite Postal 781
75124 Paris CEDEX 03

NORWAY:
Regnbuen antirasistisk senter
Synnavinden 53
9015 Tromso

ENGLAND:

Searchlight
37 B New Cavendish St
London W1M 8JR

AUSTRALIA:

Green Left
PO Box 394
Broadway 2007
New South Wales

PART has produced several research reports. The reports were all recently updated and reprinted and are now available for $2.00 each post paid; or a $15.00 supporting sub to Turning the Tide will get you all the position papers.

Report #1:

WOMEN'S RIGHTS -- TARGET FOR RACIST TERROR:

A full-length examination of the extensive connections between the anti-abortion movement and neo-nazi groups and ideology. Updated second edition, Oct. 1992.

Report #2:

BLUE BY DAY, WHITE BY NIGHT:

A report on organized white supremacist activity inside police and sheriff's departments, the FBI, military and correctional institutions. Revised and updated, Aug. 1991.

Report #3:

FRONT MAN FOR FASCISM?

"Bo" Gritz and the Racist Populist Party

The second edition of the essential expose of the neo-nazi roots of the Populist Party, and the racist beliefs and association of its current standard bearer. Updated, Mar. 1992.

Report #4:

L.A.'s CHRISTOPHER COMMISSION:

Elite Blueprint for "Enlightened" Repression

This still timely report provides a full scale analysis of the Christopher Commission, its members, and the shortcomings of its investigation and recommendations regarding the L.A. police in the wake of the Rodney King beating. Essential background on Clinton's Secretary of State!

Report #5:

WATCHDOG OR LAPDOG?

A Review of Civilian Review Nationwide

A special report, reprinted from the Minority Trendsletter, about the inadequacies of civilian review boards to effectively prevent racist and sexist brutality by police.

Report #6:

"KLAN-TV"

The Klan Behind the Camera

An expose of the use of cable and broadcast TV by Tom Metzger and other neo-nazis to promote their strategy for race war.

Report #7:

THE KKK IN U.S. HISTORY:

Analyzes the rise and fall of the Klan during three periods of U.S. history, and the relationship of the state to racist terror.

Report #8:

WOLVES IN PEACE CLOTHING

A report on neo-nazi and KKK infiltration of the peace movement around the Gulf War and related anti-Jewish and anti-Arab hate crime activity.

Report #9:

SIN FRONTERAS:

Anti-Immigrant Hysteria, English Only, and the Rise of the Right

New! PART's latest report incorporates earlier research on the fascist involvement in the English Only movement with more on the growth of anti-immigrant violence in California and elsewhere by both repressive agencies and racist-right groups and individuals.

PART also has several audio tapes available for $5.00 each.

Audio tape #1: Bill Mitchell of KPFK, L.A., interviews Michael Novick of PART about Bo Gritz, Joe Fields, and the racist Populist Party.

Audio tape #2: Grant Fisher of WCBN, Ann Arbor interviews Michael Novick of PART on "The face of fascism in the U.S. Today."

Audio tape #3: Laura Sydell of WBAI, NY, interviews Loretta Ross of the Center for Democratic Renewal and Michael Novick of PART.

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